

William Baeuerlen — a ‘circumspect and zealous’ collector

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Abstract

Wilhelm Baeuerlen (anglicized as William Baeuerlen) was born in Germany in 1840. His early career is unknown. He first came to notice as an independent collector of plant materials in the 1880s, collecting in SE New South Wales and NE Victoria under contract to F. Mueller at the Botanic Gardens, Melbourne, and later J. H. Maiden at the Technological Museum, Sydney. Baeuerlen was botanical collector on the 1885 *Bonito* expedition to southern New Guinea. He was official full-time Collector to the Technological Museum (now the Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences) 1890–1905, collecting all manner of plant samples, particularly in the NE, SE and NW of New South Wales. Maiden, Baker and Smith made substantial use of his collections in their taxonomic and chemical studies of *Acacia*, *Eucalyptus* and *Callitris*. His numerous herbarium specimens (now in NSW) from the NE of the State form the only substantial botanical record of the ‘Big Scrub’ rainforest, long since mostly cleared. Numerous new taxa have been described from his specimens, at least 20 of them named in his honour.

In the National Herbarium of New South Wales (NSW), William Baeuerlen’s name is to be found as collector of many of the early specimens from the north-east and south-east of that state. Indeed, his herbarium specimens from north-eastern New South Wales are the only substantial botanical record of the ‘Big Scrub’, that extensive rainforest of which only small pockets remain. In the National Herbarium of Victoria (MEL) his name occurs often on specimens collected in the extreme north-east of Victoria and south-west of Papua New Guinea. His numerous collections contributed significantly to the taxonomic and chemical work of J. H. Maiden, R. T. Baker and H. G. Smith on *Acacia* Mill., *Eucalyptus* L’Hérit. and *Callitris* Vent.

But who was this collector? Steenis-Kruseman (1950) and Hall (1978) gave the sketchy biographical information available to them. I have been able to add considerably to this, although there are still gaps, notably relating to his early life and his life after retirement. Baeuerlen’s collecting activities have been pieced together from references in publications (mainly by Mueller, Maiden and Baker), from annual reports and archival material at the Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences, Sydney (MAAS), formerly known as the Technological Museum, and from his specimens and letters in NSW and MEL.¹

Early life

William or Wilhelm Baeuerlen was born on 27 October 1840 at Niedernhall, Germany (Bürgermeister of Niedernhall, *in litt.* May 1988). He was the third child of Carl Friedrich Theodor Baeuerlen (1809–1857), who was probably a paper-manufacturer, and his wife Johanne Theresie (née Becker) (1805–1844). Little is known about his early life. He was only four years old when his mother died, just five months after the birth of her fourth child (who also died the following month). Wilhelm’s father died when Wilhelm was 16,

and he was then placed in an orphanage in nearby Stuttgart.

Baeuerlen probably had little contact with family members after this time. For example, he misquoted his father’s name as ‘Carl Rudolf’ when he married in 1896, and seems to have consistently referred to himself as ‘Leonhard (or Leonard) Carl Wilhelm’, despite having been named Leonhardt Wilhelm Carl at birth. In Australia, he usually anglicized his name to William (although when writing in German, as to Mueller, he signed himself Wilhelm) but kept his surname intact in its accented German form. The correct anglicized form is of course Baeuerlen (Adams 1980). However, others frequently altered his surname to Bauerlen, Bauerlin, Baurerlen, Barlan and, the final indignity, to Banerlin on his death certificate.

His path to becoming William Baeuerlen, botanical collector, is undocumented. However, J. H. Maiden referred to him as being a ‘trained collector of Economic Botany specimens’² and his writings also indicate that he was both well-educated and botanically knowledgeable. Watson’s reminiscences (1921) refer to him as having had ‘good technical training’. Baeuerlen’s scientific expertise extended to the pioneering field of electricity, on which he gave public lectures and demonstrations at Nowra. He was described in Nowra’s weekly newspaper as ‘the locally well known botanist and electrician’ and as ‘a man who observed things as they *are*’ [their italics].³ He also mentioned in a letter to Maiden the possibility of personally carrying out further chemical analyses, using his own spectroscope, if sufficient material was available of the gums and resins he had been collecting for the Museum.⁴ When preparing to go to the north-east in 1890, he referred in a letter to Maiden to selling some of his (unspecified) ‘scientific apparatus’⁵.

Baeuerlen left Niedernhall on 27 July 1863 to emigrate to Australia (Bürgermeister of Niedernhall, *in*

litt. May 1988). His date of arrival in Australia has not been traced, but he was sending specimens to Ferdinand Mueller in Melbourne at least by September 1883. He based himself in the Shoalhaven area (Nowra–Cambewarra), collecting intensively there, at least partly on contract for Mueller (Mueller 1885: 197), and extending to the Braidwood area on the Southern Tablelands (Table I). He was not postmaster at Bombala in the 1880s as suggested by Adams & Williams (1988).

Bonito expedition to New Guinea

On the recommendation of Mueller, he was appointed botanical collector to the *Bonito* expedition to British New Guinea (Papua), on a salary of 15 pounds per month.⁶ This expedition was organized by the New South Wales branch of the fledgling Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (of which Sir Edward Strickland was President and J. H. Maiden was honorary Secretary) with support from the Victorian branch and funded by the New South Wales, Victorian and Queensland Governments. Its original purpose was to explore the Aird River region of southern New

Guinea, using the steam launch *Bonito*, which left Sydney on 10 June 1885, and returned 3 December 1885 (Fig. 1). Another member of the expedition was W. W. Froggatt, later Government Entomologist in New South Wales. The expedition's progress and supposed massacre were widely reported.⁷

At the last moment, the expedition's target had to be changed to the more westerly Fly River, on the basis of local knowledge gained at Cooktown, Queensland. The party spent four months exploring the Fly and its tributary, the Strickland River, which they named and explored for about 210 km upstream from its junction with the Fly. Numerous natural history collections were made. However, the relatively few taxonomic novelties and the lack of a full and unified report on the expedition's finds meant that its scientific impact was limited. Of the zoological specimens, the entomological were considered the most significant (Macleay 1886, Ramsay 1888). About 1,000 botanical specimens were sent to Mueller for naming (Anon. 1896) but he published on about only 5% of them, mainly in his incomplete series 'Descriptive Notes on Papuan Plants'. The tenth and final part of the series, as fore-



Fig. 1. Members of the *Bonito* expedition to Papua 1885. Photographed 8 December 1885 at Watsons Bay. *Back row (from left):* W. W. Froggatt (zoological collector and entomologist), S. A. Bernays (surgeon and botanist), A. J. Vogan (artist and explorer), P. Waddick (seaman and explorer). *Middle row (from left):* W. Bäuerlen (botanical collector), G. E. Hemsworth (nautical sub-leader), Capt. H. C. Everill (Leader), J. W. Haaeke (chief scientist: zoology and geology). *Front row (from left):* R. G. Creagh (land sub-leader), J. H. Shaw (photographer and explorer). Designations are those given by Everill (1888: 172). Reproduced, with kind permission, from the original photograph in the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.

shadowed by Mueller (1890a), was to be devoted to collections made by Bäuerlen and another New Guinea collector, H. O. Forbes, but was never published. A few of the specimens were used by other botanists, for example, Candolle (1903), but many have remained essentially unconsulted in MEL.

For Bäuerlen, the *Bonito* expedition led to an address, delivered 'with an accuracy and vigour remarkable for a foreigner', to the Shoalhaven Agricultural Association.⁸ The address was subsequently printed as the first of his only two known publications (Bäuerlen 1886). More importantly for his career, the expedition brought him in contact with Joseph Henry Maiden, who was then Curator of the new Technological Museum in Sydney (now the Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences).

Back in the Shoalhaven area, Bäuerlen not only resumed collecting specimens for Mueller (Mueller 1888a) but, from about July 1886, was also collecting for the Technological Museum in Sydney. He collected widely in the south-east corner of New South Wales and the extreme north-east of Victoria (Maiden 1887), also visiting the far north-west of New South Wales in 1887 (Mueller 1888b, 1888c) and the Snowy Mountains in early 1890 (Fig. 2).⁹

He was appointed on 31 March 1887 as an agent (Bevollmächtigter) of the Museum für Völkerkunde (Ethnological Museum) in Leipzig (B. Scheps, *in litt.* June 1988). The basis of this appointment is unknown but it was possibly instigated by F. Mueller, or may have been based on early work of which no record has been found. The association was apparently not fruitful: the Museum has no record of ever receiving any plant specimens from him.⁸ Bäuerlen was reported as being a Fellow of the Ethnological Society (the Völker-

kundliche Gesellschaft) of Leipzig.¹⁰ However, he was never listed as a member of that now-defunct society (B. Scheps (*in litt.*))

Collecting pattern

As explained by Maiden², the usual arrangement was for Bäuerlen to collect in an area for at least a few months, making day trips on foot from his lodgings, and using regular coach, train and steamer services to move between areas. At one period he bought a horse and trap¹¹, which gave him greater flexibility. He collected all 'vegetable products' and associated herbarium vouchers for the Technological Museum with emphasis on potential economic products, occasionally adding a few mineral samples and even aboriginal tools.¹² His letters sometimes mention collecting insects for W. W. Froggatt, particularly those associated with eucalypts.¹³ He occasionally arranged with local people to collect for him — with mixed success.¹⁴

His specimens

No complete listing exists of Bäuerlen's plant collections (timber, gums, etc. as well as herbarium specimens). At least 70 species and infraspecific taxa have been described from his herbarium specimens, mostly by Mueller, Maiden and Baker. About 20 of those taxa are named after him, often misspelt as 'bauerlenii'. As prescribed by Article 73.6 of the International Code of Botanical Nomenclature (Greuter *et al.* 1988), the correct spelling is 'bauerlenii', as in *Correa bauerlenii* F. Muell.

Most herbarium specimens collected before 1890, including his New Guinea collections, were sent directly to Mueller in Melbourne. Those of his specimens that survived in the Technological Museum were

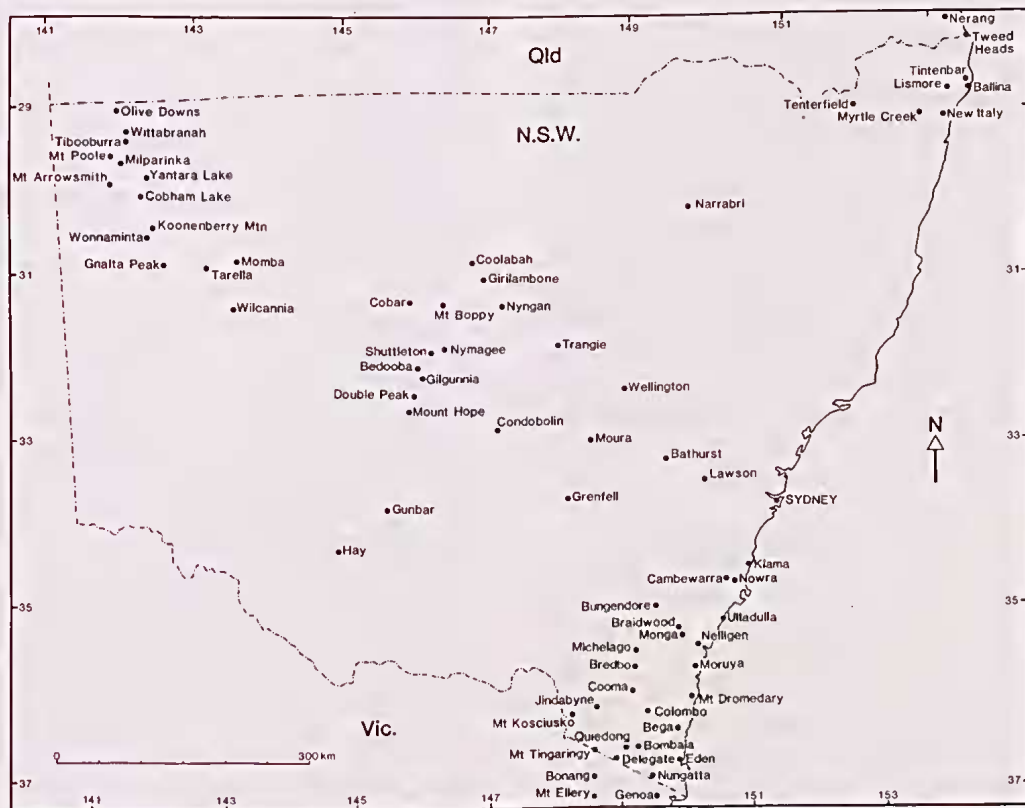


Fig. 2. Areas of New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland in which Bäuerlen collected. Not all of his collecting localities are shown; a detailed list has been lodged in the library of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Sydney, and is available from the librarian.

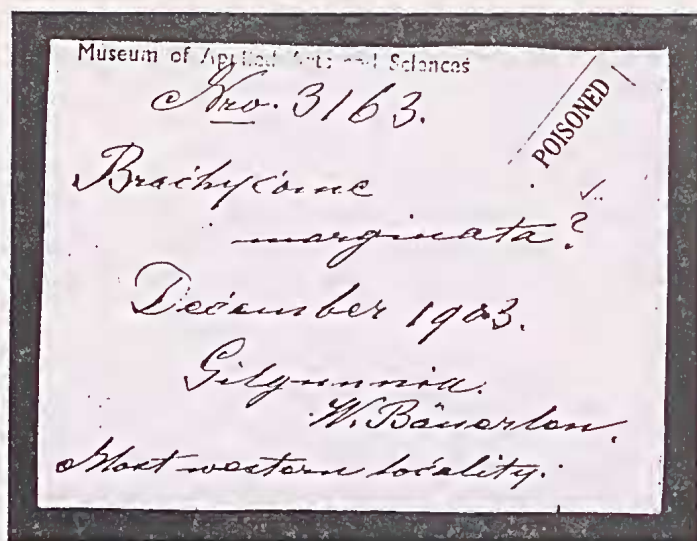


Fig. 3. A typical specimen label, for a specimen of *Brachyscome heterodonta* DC. var. *heterodonta*, in Bäuerlen's script.

transferred to NSW, with the rest of the Museum's herbarium, in 1979 when the Museum ceased to take an interest in botanical research and products. There is no accurate count but this latter material is estimated to consist of several thousand specimens. These collections are generally copious and duplicates are being distributed by NSW. Some duplicates had been sent to NSW during Maiden's period as Director of the Botanic Gardens¹⁵ and a few also found their way into overseas herbaria, notably B, KIEL, M, and P (Lanjouw & Stafleu 1954).

Label information is generally limited to species name, locality and date (usually month and year only) (Fig. 3). Perhaps half the specimens bear a number, which is probably a species number rather than a collection number. It seems likely that he started a new number series for each fieldtrip before 1890, while he used a single series after his appointment in 1890 as Botanical Collector at the Museum. However, no fieldbooks or correspondence have been found to confirm this. Cases have been found of apparently incorrect label data, and these mostly seem to be due to mis-transcription by others from his original field labels.

Bäuerlen rarely wrote any habit or habitat notes on the labels, but the Museum archives include, in the box with his letters, a large set of handwritten notes on foolscap sheets dealing with individual species. A few of these notes are filed with his specimens in NSW. In these he compared his various collections of each species. These collections were often spread over several years, indicating either a very good memory or the existence of fieldbooks that have since disappeared.

Botanical collector at the Technological Museum

Bäuerlen was appointed on 5 May 1890 to a full-time permanent position as Botanical Collector at the Museum, on a salary of 150 pounds per annum plus four shillings daily expenses, continuing in that position (and on that same salary) till his retirement in June 1905. This would seem to have been an extremely good salary in 1890, since his successor Charles F. Laseron started in 1906 on only 104 pounds per annum with a travelling allowance of 6 shillings per day (he was regarded as less experienced than Bäuerlen).¹⁶ Bäuerlen's income was certainly such that

he could afford to buy new botanical books: he refers in a letter to Maiden, dated 20 June 1887, for example, to the parts of Brown's *Forest flora of South Australia* (1882–90) that he had received.

His extant correspondence with Mueller and Maiden from the late 1880s reveals his enthusiasm for collecting. He was botanically knowledgeable and had a good eye for taxa. His field notes were often quoted in publications by Maiden and Baker (e.g. Maiden 1917, Baker 1900). He was arguing the existence of natural hybrids in the eucalypts with Mueller and Maiden for some years before those botanists had accepted the idea (Mueller 1890b, Maiden 1904).

In 1891, he published at his own expense the first and only fascicle of *The wildflowers of New South Wales* (Bäuerlen & Lovegrove 1891) with text written by him and illustrations by Gertrude Lovegrove. Subscriptions were presumably inadequate since no more of the projected 25 parts were published.

A copy of this rare work is in the Mitchell Library.¹⁷ An account of its contents and availability is given in the *Shoalhaven Telegraph* (21 Jan. 1891). In a letter to Maiden, Bäuerlen gave extensive details of the protracted history of production of the work, thereby defending himself against a charge by Baker of acting in an untoward manner as a public servant (undertaking a project without having his superior's permission).¹⁸ Bäuerlen stated that 250 copies were received by the authors (at a cost of 50 pounds to himself) some time in December 1890. Date of publication therefore lies somewhere between 1 December 1890 and 21 January 1891.

Probably Bäuerlen's major contribution in recording the flora of New South Wales was the extensive collection of herbarium and other specimens he made between February 1891 and June 1898 in the north-east of the state. He used Ballina and Lismore as bases but ranged from New Italy and Myrtle Creek in the south to Murwillumbah and Tweed Heads in the north, with one brief trip over the border to Nerang in Queensland. Maiden was far-sighted in sending him to that region since these specimens form the only substantial record of the flora of the 'Big Scrub', most of which has since been cleared so that only small pockets now survive of the original lush and extensive rainforest (Jervis 1958).

After his lengthy period in the north-east, Bäuerlen collected mainly samples of eucalypts and *Callitris* (up to 12 sacks of leaves per specimen!) for essential oil analysis by Richard T. Baker and Henry G. Smith (Maiden had left to become Director of the Botanic Gardens in June 1896). This work eventually led Bäuerlen to complain of being made 'the drudge for the Chemist'.¹⁹ Bäuerlen went back to his old stamping ground around Braidwood in June 1898 and continued south to north-eastern Victoria in early 1899.²⁰ His later movements are summarized in Table 1.

Records are vague as to his activities in 1902, but he took 43 days sick leave and 28 days recreation leave that year: his first substantial periods of leave since his appointment in 1890. In fact, Bäuerlen's leave record is remarkable by today's standards: he took no recreation leave until 1902 and no sick leave until 1897.²¹

In the spring of 1902, he was possibly collecting in north-east Victoria (J. H. Willis pers. comm.). His offi-

Table I
Known collecting areas of Bäuerlen

c. Sept. 1883-May 1885: SE New South Wales and NE Victoria.
 June-Dec. 1885: *Bonito* expedition to Fly River, New Guinea.
 Jan. 1886-July 1887: SE N.S.W. and NE Victoria.
 Aug. 1887-Jan. 1888: NW N.S.W. (Wilcannia to Tibooburra).
 Feb. 1888-Jan. 1891: SE N.S.W. (including Mt Kosciusko).
 Feb. 1891-May 1898: NE N.S.W. (including one brief trip to Nerang, SE Queensland).
 June 1898-March 1899: SE N.S.W.
 April 1899-c. Sept. 1899: Blue Mountains and Bathurst.
 c. Nov. 1899-c. April 1900: Nyngan area.
 Nov.-Dec. 1900: Hay area.
 March-April 1901: Condobolin to Grenfell.
 June-July 1901: Narrabri.
 July-Aug. 1901: Tentfield.
 Sept. 1902: ?NE Victoria.
 Nov. 1902-May 1903: Wellington.
 May 1903-April 1904: Cobar to Mt Hope.
 April 1905: eastern suburbs of Sydney.

cial diaries start again on 11 November 1902 with his departure from Sydney by train to collect around Wellington. He went on to collect between Cobar and Mount Hope until April 1904. From mid February 1904, Baker was sending letters and telegrams ordering Bäuerlen to return to Sydney to prepare for going back to the north-east. Bäuerlen replied either insolently or not at all, but eventually obeyed orders insofar as he was back in Sydney by late May.²²

Little detail is known of Bäuerlen's personal life. He had married Leah Charlotte Currie in Ballina on 8 June 1896, when he was 55 and she was 25, less than half his age.²³ It must have been a difficult marriage from the start. His attitude is perhaps indicated by his official diary entry for 8 June, his wedding day (the same entry as for the preceding few days): 'Collected about Ballina'. On 10 June he was off to collect at nearby Tintenbar for the rest of the week and by late June he was collecting farther north, between Mullumbimby and Tweed Heads, not returning to Ballina until 11 August. There is no hint as to whether Mrs Bäuerlen accompanied him on any trips, but it seems unlikely that someone used to travelling and collecting alone (and mostly on foot) for at least 25 years should suddenly change his habits. They apparently had a daughter Lenora, born about 1898, and it seems even more unlikely that he would have taken a wife and small child with him.²⁴

By 1904, Bäuerlen's enthusiasm for collecting had obviously waned, as had also his health, and he was suffering in his personal and professional life. From the admittedly incomplete records available, this change would seem to have been either caused or exacerbated by his conflict with Baker.

Richard Thomas Baker was appointed Scientific Assistant to the Curator of the Technological Museum from 1888 and became Curator in 1898 (Hall 1978), a post he held until his retirement in 1921. He is reputed to have been a difficult person to deal with, both personally and professionally; for example, the story of the strong differences between him and Maiden over eucalypt taxonomy remains to be told. One of Bäuerlen's charges against Baker was that he had caused a significant breach in relations between staff of the Museum and Botanic Gardens.²⁵

Bäuerlen obviously respected Maiden but just as obviously thoroughly disliked Baker and considered

him a hindrance to botanical science in New South Wales, as well as a poor administrator. It is unlikely, however, that the problems lay solely with Baker. At the Museum Bäuerlen apparently quarrelled with or criticized the work of other staff members too. It is perhaps an indication of Bäuerlen's personality, or the difficulties under which he was working, that at this time he also quarrelled with, and became estranged from, his wife.²⁶

Bäuerlen's collections were the basis for many of Baker's publications, a fact that Baker only rarely acknowledged explicitly (c.g. Baker 1900, 1902). A more handsome acknowledgment was made in the joint work on eucalypts (Baker & Smith 1902: vi). However, Baker and Smith did not mention him in their (1910) work on Australian pines, despite the *Callitris* collections he had made for this research before his retirement.

Whatever the cause, Bäuerlen's physical and/or mental health had deteriorated to the extent that he spent the second half of 1904 on recreation and sick leave, being also suspended from duty for one month for insubordination. He returned to duty in December on six months probation. Early in 1905 he was pronounced medically fit and again ordered to return to the north-east to collect but found various trifling excuses for delaying his departure.²⁷

This strained period ended in his retirement on 30 June 1905, just four months before his 65th birthday.

His later years

The rather sorry tale continued over the next few years. In November 1905, he was ordered by letter to stay out of all but the public areas of the Museum, since his status was now 'that of a member of the general public'. He was also ordered not to have his mail addressed to the Museum.²⁸

In 1906, he wrote to the Under Secretary of the Chief Secretary's Department, which had responsibility for the Botanic Gardens, alluding to the difficult relations between Maiden and Baker. This resulted in Maiden replying diplomatically to the Under Secretary that 'the most friendly relations have existed between the Curator of the Technological Museum and myself for some years past'. However, Maiden continued, 'there always will be differences of opinion on scientific matters'. Any sympathy he had for Bäuerlen had apparently gone since he added, rather irritably, that he objected 'to a third person endeavouring to stir up strife between two public officers'.²⁹

He was recorded as a member of the New South Wales Naturalists Club in 1906 in volume 1 of their journal *Australian Naturalist*, but the list may have been out of date since it gave his address as the Museum.

Bäuerlen's final recorded involvement in botanical matters was a futile court case in September 1908, brought by him against the Under Secretary of the Department of Justice (as nominal defendant for the New South Wales Government) for the return of letters and two botanical notebooks allegedly taken from his desk in February 1905 and for monetary compensation for their detention or loss. The case was dismissed out of hand because Bäuerlen could produce no

evidence that any Government employee was responsible for their disappearance.³⁰

Bäuerlen is recorded on electoral rolls and in John Sands' annual *New South Wales Directory* as continuing to live in Redfern at various addresses until his death in Sydney Hospital on 28 October 1917, the day after his 77th birthday. Cause of death was given as cerebral thrombosis (what would now be called a stroke) and septic meningitis (probably bacterial meningitis). His death certificate is a rather pathetic document. The original meagre details, with his name given as William Banerlin, were certified by the Secretary of Sydney Hospital. It was not until January 1918 that his estranged widow corrected his name and added other details, which generally corresponded with those on their marriage certificate. She obviously believed him to be younger than he really was, since she altered his age at death to 72. He was buried in an unmarked grave in the public section of the Church of England portion of Rookwood Cemetery.

Altogether, this was a rather sad end to a life that had initially been lived with such enthusiasm as to lead Mueller (1883: 151) to call him a 'circumspect and zealous' collector and Maiden and Baker (1896: 585) to refer to him as a 'painstaking botanical collector'.

Acknowledgements

Access to the archives of the Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences (MAAS) was vital in preparing this paper. I am very grateful to Vanessa Mack (Acting Registrar), Lana Das (Head Librarian) and their staff members, who were most helpful despite being busy with preparations for the opening of the Powerhouse Museum. Many of my colleagues helped in the preparation of this paper and the associated poster presented at the Melbourne symposium, whether by bringing Bäuerlen's specimens to my attention, or preparing figures and locality lists, or commenting on the manuscript. Special thanks go to Peter Richards, Bob Makinson, Emma Jefferson, Chris Kalucy, Surrey Jacobs, Barbara Briggs, Chris Dunn, Peter Weston and Peter Wilson.

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Notes

MAAS = Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences, Sydney; this institution began as the Technological Museum, changing its name in 1950.

MA = Archives of MAAS (only partially ordered and accessible to me).

CCL = MA 14/1 Letterbook: copies of official letters to the Collector 1890–1920.

CCS = MA Letterbook series: Copies of correspondence sent, series 1 (23.9.1882–14.7.1921)

OLC = box MA 114 *p.p.*: Original letters from the Collector to the Curator 1886–1901. (This box also contains Bäuerlen's diary sheets (1890–1904) and undated detailed notes on particular species collected.)

ST = the *Shoalhaven Telegraph* weekly newspaper (Nowra).

1. Bäuerlen's collecting activities: MAAS archival records: letter books (CCL, and CCS vols. 4–25 (1886–1907)), collector's letters (OLC), diary sheets (MA 114), and a book (MA 116/119) of butts of official telegrams sent 15.8.1885–14.3.1890 (mainly to Bäuerlen). Other relevant documents may possibly exist in currently inaccessible parts of MA.

His movements from 1890 as official Museum Collector are easy to trace since he was required to submit brief weekly diary sheets, most of which have survived (MA 114 *p.p.*). Their veracity, however, may be doubtful at least sometimes, e.g. the entry for his wedding day. In another case, his diary entries for 18–28 May 1898 apparently did not coincide with his claim for travelling expenses (CCS vol. 14 — letter 234).

2. Letter from Maiden 15 April 1890 to the Superintendent of the Technical Education Branch, Dept. of Public Instruction (copy ex MEL per H. H. G. McKern).
3. ST 11 August 1886, p. 2, and issue of 30 June 1886, p. 2.
4. OLC — letter of 11 April 1887 from Quedong.
5. OLC — letter of 7 November 1890 from Cambewarra.
6. Letter book 1 (Mitchell Library A2664) of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (New South Wales branch) (15.4.1883–5.12.1885). See also *Trans. & Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc. of Australasia (New South Wales Branch)* vols. 3–4: 195, 164, 170–187 (1888) — details of the members of the expedition are given pp. 112–115, 172.
7. For example, in ST 19 November, 25 November and 3 December 1885.
8. ST 1 April 1886, p. 2.
9. OLC — letter of 9 July 1886 from Cambewarra; CCS — letters 312, 314 from Maiden 13 April 1887 to Bäuerlen at Bombala. See also note 2.
10. ST 20 July 1887, p. 2.
11. OLC — letter of January 1889, from Browns Camp near Delegate.
12. OLC — letter of 13 May 1887 from Delegate. MAAS Annual Report 1889: 5; *op. cit.* 1895: 187.
13. OLC — letter of 20 June 1887 from Bombala.
14. OLC — letters of 23 March 1887 from Quedong; and 4 July 1887 from Lyttleton near Colombo; CCL — letter no. 961 from Baker 14 July 1898 to Bäuerlen at Braidwood.
15. Royal Botanic Gardens, Sydney: Annual Report for 1898: 11 (1899); MAAS Annual Report 1898: 173.
16. CCS vol. 22 — letter no. 1, from Baker to the Superintendent 29 June 1905; vol. 25 — letter no. 95, 18 Jan. 1907.
17. Mitchell Library at F581.991/1.
18. OLC — letter of 27 Sept. 1891 from Ballina, with printed prospectus sheet attached.
19. CCS vol. 20 — letter nos. 228–229.
20. MAAS Annual Report 1899: 173.
21. CCS vol. 21 — letter no. 654 of 18 or 19 May 1905 from Baker to the Superintendent.
22. CCS vol. 20 — letters nos. 226–9 (20 April 1904), 798 (1 November 1904).
23. N.S.W. Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages — marriage entry 2711 for 1896 records that Leonhard Carl Wilhelm Bäuerlen, botanist, age 47 [he was actually 55!], married Leah Charlotte Currie, age 25, in St Mary's Church of England, Ballina. She was born at Oatlands, Tasmania, 15 January 1871, the daughter of Edward Currie, an innkeeper or publican (died before June 1896), and Amelia Watts (Tasmanian Registry birth entry no.: Oatlands 1162). She survived him by many years. Her date of death is not known but she was living in the Manly area until at least 1958 according to Electoral Rolls.
24. The only record found of a child of the marriage is on Bäuerlen's death certificate (N.S.W. Death entry no. 1917–1395). Amongst the details added to this entry by Mrs Bäuerlen in 1918 was the existence of a daughter, Lenora L., then said to be aged 20. No record of her birth has been found in the indexes to the N.S.W. and Tasmanian registers.
25. CCS vol. 21 — letters nos. 9 (7.11.1904) and 577 (25.4.1905) from Baker to the Superintendent summarize Bäuerlen's complaints and charges against Baker. J. L. Willis mentions the differences between Bäuerlen and Baker in his manuscript history of MAAS, *From palace to powerhouse* (1982) — copies in MAAS Library.
26. CCS vol. 20 — letter (sheet nos. 226–229) of 20 April 1904 from Assistant Curator H. G. Smith to the Superintendent. CCS vol. 21 — letter no. 9 from Baker to the Superintendent mentions one of Bäuerlen's charges against Baker, namely Baker's alleged sympathetic reception of Mrs Bäuerlen's complaints against her husband. The date of separation of the Bäuerlens is not clear, but is probably indicated by the listing of Mrs Bäuerlen at a separate address from 1912, in the issues of the period of John Sands' *N.S.W. Directory*.
27. CCS vols. 20 and 21 — numerous letters from Baker and Smith to the Superintendent and Bäuerlen (April 1904–May 1905).
28. CCS vol. 22 — letter no. 548 from Baker to Bäuerlen 15 Nov. 1905.

29. Archives of Royal Botanic Gardens, Sydney — Confidential letterbook relating to staff 1.7.1902–10.8.1908 — Letter no. 441 from Maiden to the Under Secretary 4 August 1906.
30. *Sydney Morning Herald* 12 September 1908 p. 6, report headed 'District Court/ (Before his Honour Judge Rogers)/ Botanic specimens/ Bäuerlen v. Williams'. A more colourful report is given in *The Evening News (Sydney)* 12 September 1908 p. 10, col. 3, headed 'The aggrieved botanist/ And the worried judge'.

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